1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

the Legislative Yuan on May 25, 1951, and promulgated by the President of the Republic of China on June 7, 1951. Although it did not eliminate all abuses of tenants, it went a long way toward this end in the Hsin Hsing area as in all of Taiwan.

The act strictly enforced the rent reduction policy, holding land rent to 37.5 percent of the main annual crop. Production was predetermined on the basis of two crops a year in the Hsin Hsing area. Under its provisions any increase in production brought about through the tenant's own efforts benefited the tenant only, not the landlord. The rent was still to be paid in kind and in two installments, one after each harvest. The act also contained rules for rent reductions in cases of crop failure, specifying that the "Farm Tenancy Committees" of the area should investigate each case, determine the extent of the crop failure, and stipulate the amount by which the rent should be reduced. "If, owing to crop failure, the total yield is less than 30 per cent of the normal yield, the entire rent payment shall be remitted" (T'ang, 1954:225).

More important, the 1951 act provided security never before known by the Taiwanese tenant farmer. The tenant's right to work the rented land without fear of being evicted by the landlord was secured by a minimum six-year contract. The law even provided that when the six-year lease expired, the landlord could not take back the land for self-cultivation if he could not cultivate it himself, if his income was already sufficient to support his family, or if the tenant and his family, by loss of the leased land, would lose their means of livelihood (Chang, 1954:22–23).

With the tenant's security on the land protected, he no longer had to kowtow to his landlord or attempt to maintain good *kan-ch'ing*. Today, it is common to hear a tenant, formerly courteous to his landlord whether he liked him or not, actually curse him when he comes in his own wagon to collect and load the tenant's land rent. (The tenant formerly delivered the rent to the landlord.) On one such occasion in Hsin Hsing, K'ang, a landlord from another village, came to pick up his rice rent. In Mandarin, the name is pronounced K'ang, but in the local Taiwanese dialect, it is pronounced K'ung. But *K'ung* in Taiwanese also means stupid. The Hsin Hsing tenant, while watching the landlord load the rice in his wagon, laughingly repeated over and over for all to hear, "K'ung K'ung is here for the rent." It was obvious to everyone including the landlord that the tenant was punning on his name. While the others stood around and laughed, the landlord continued his work without a word.

The 1951 act also eliminated many other abuses of tenants by landlords. The landlord could be imprisoned if he forced the tenant by duress or force to give up the land. Collecting farm rent or deposit

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

583 192 558 Therefore, there is a certain social stigma attached to the adopted husband. The villagers often refer to such a husband as a *chui hsu* or a *chao fu*, terms which in themselves may indicate some feeling of derision. While the terms, as compounds, generally mean a son-in-law who lives with his wife's family, taken separately there is a derogatory quality in the individual components of the compounds. For example, *hsu* means son-in-law, but the literal meaning of the other word of the compound, *chui*, is irrelevant, useless, or a parasite. In the second compound, although *fu* has the general meaning of husband or man, *chao* means to beckon, to call, or to give notice.

583 558 Although the institution of husband adoption is recognized as a necessity in some cases, most villagers look down on such a husband and, in a sense, consider him an incomplete man. There are jokes made about adopted husbands, sometimes even in their presence, and if a man is henpecked or does chores for his wife which a woman would normally do for herself, the villagers are likely to say he is "being like an adopted husband." The attitudes of the other village men toward the adopted husband vary according to the kind of person he is, but generally such a man finds it difficult to win the respect of his peers. Unless he is an aggressive person, he is unlikely to speak out in a male group, since he knows the other men will pay little attention to him. For this reason, few men or their families will agree to a marriage by adoption unless the family is very poor, has little or no land for the son to inherit, and cannot afford a regular marriage for him. The men in Hsin Hsing village who have become adopted husbands were usually at the average marriageable age for men at the time of adoption; they were not adopted into the girl's family in their youth or at any time before the actual marriage.

The family wishing to adopt a husband for their daughter must offer some firm reward such as land or money. Then, sometimes a poor and perhaps ambitious but "thick-skinned" man will agree to become an adopted husband. The boy may know and like the girl and so be willing to give himself for adoption as a husband.

583 The family which brings in a husband for their daughter may do so out of a need for the man's labor or from a desire to have descendants. Perhaps the more common situation solved by such an adoption is when a family has a marriageable daughter and a much younger son who, because of his youth, will be unable to work the family land for a 583 number of years. Frequently, there is a written or verbal contract 675 which stipulates the terms of the marriage by adoption. The agreement in a situation like the one just described is usually effected for a specific number of years, or at least until the wife's younger brother is [591] old enough to take over the management of the family's land. The husband agrees to live in his wife's family home, accept the authority

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

tion. Adoptions, like marriage, require a go-between or broker to make the necessary contacts and arrangements. The most frequent adoption is that of a girl. There are two forms of this, although the forms are not always differentiated at the time of adoption. One is the adoption of a girl as the future wife of one of the sons of the family. (This arrangement was briefly mentioned earlier as the *sinosiv* system of marriage.) Upon adoption the girl, in the Hsin Hsing area, is called either a *hsi fu* (a daughter-in-law) or *tung yang hsi* (a girl brought up in the home of her fiance). The other called a *yang nu* (adopted daughter), is the adoption of a girl who, much like a regular daughter, will live with the family until she reaches the age to be married out.

The other major adoption type is that of a son to worship the ancestors and to perpetuate the family by producing descendants. Although such a son is called a *yang tzu* (adopted son), he has all the rights of inheritance of a natural son of the family, at least by local practice.

Both types of adoption are socially accepted and legally recognized and are entered in the official village and family records in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office. In each case the child is listed according to the special term designating that specific type of adopted person.

Adoption of a Daughter

Of the many reasons for the adoption of a daughter, one of the most basic is that the adopting family has no children while the girl's family either has too many girl children or is simply unable to afford the expense of raising her. Sometimes, when an infant has died and its mother is despondent, the family may adopt a baby girl to comfort the mother for the loss of her own child. In other cases a couple which has not been able to produce a first child may decide to adopt one (usually a girl), believing that having a child in the house will make it possible for the woman to conceive, or more accurately, that the adopted girl is supposed to invite in a baby boy (*chao ti*).

Another common reason for adopting a girl child, especially among poorer people, is as a future wife for one of the sons of the family. Such a marriage is much cheaper for both families, since it makes it unnecessary to have the usual expensive wedding. Other families who have no girls to do the family housework may adopt a girl with the idea that she will work for the family until the time she is married. However, if such a family has subsequent financial reverses, or if everyone becomes attached to the girl and finds that she is such a good worker that she could contribute much as a permanent part of the family, they may marry her to one of their own sons to keep her in the family. The feeling here is that so long as the family knows and values the girl, there is no sense in marrying her off to some other family only to bring an unknown girl into the house as a wife for their son. The

*583 178 [591] the traditional matrilocal marriage. Such marriages do at least provide for the economic security of families who do not have sons of their own, and as the times change there will undoubtedly be a weakening of the beliefs that now make it important for parents to have a large family and descendants of their own.

*597 The most important single criterion distinguishing the various forms of adoption recognized in Hsiachichou is the sex of the adopted child. The childless American family will usually first decide whether or not they want to adopt a child, and after this decision is made they will then consider the sex of the child. Often they do not care whether the child is a boy or a girl; their goal in adopting is to obtain a child. The situation is very different with the average Hokkien family. To them the adoption of a male and the adoption of a female are not alternative ways of satisfying the same need. A family who is interested in adopting a male child will not ordinarily consider the possibility of adopting a female child, and the family who is thinking of adopting a female child is often not at all interested in the possibility of adopting a male. The motivation for the two forms of adoption often springs from different concerns, and the two acts are recognized as always having very different social consequences.

*597 • 192 602 The language of adoption in Hsiachichou recognizes two distinct forms of male adoption. In one case, the act of adoption is referred to with the verb chī, and the adopted child is spoken of as a kùe-páng-kìa:. In the other, the verb indicating the act of adoption is either bǔe or bùe, depending upon whether one is speaking of the family who is

*597 • 192 602

giving the child or the family who is receiving the child, the adopted child being termed a biēng-liēng-kiá:. Although no term with a social referent ever has an exact equivalent in a language spoken in another society, the verb chī is not too inappropriately translated with the English verb "to adopt." The adoption does not in any way alter the existing social relationship between the two families who are parties to the adoption, nor does it involve an exchange of gifts or compensation for the one family's loss of a member. As is the case with adoption in most English speaking countries, rights in the child are transferred freely and without further social implications. The difference is that whereas the English verb "to adopt" is appropriately used for any transaction involving the transfer of rights in a child, the use of the Hokkien term chī is limited to those cases in which the two families are agnatically related. When the parties to the adoption are not agnates the act of adoption is referred to with the verbs būe and bùe. The family who receives the child is said to have "bought" him (bùe), and the family who gives the child in adoption is said to have "sold" him (būe). As in the case of adoptions involving agnates, such transactions do not alter existing social relationships, but they do involve the payment of a considerable sum of money by the adopting family. The use of the verbs "to buy" and "to sell" is not metaphorical. Whereas a family adopting a child from an agnate is not required to give any compensation whatsoever, the family adopting a child from a non-agnate must ordinarily offer what for most families amounts to the equivalent of a year's income.

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 5

THE DECISION MAKERS

In his description of marriage practices in Singapore Maurice Freedman points out that there are significant differences between the English and Hokkien usage of the verb "to marry."[1] Whereas the English verb takes as its subject only the man and woman who are parties to the marriage, the Hokkien equivalent, the verb chŭa, may take as its subject any person who is a member of the kā, his father and mother, his father's father and father's mother, even his brothers and sisters. The same observation can be made of English and Hokkien verbs denoting the act of adoption. In English the only persons who can speak of adopting a particular child are the child's foster parents. In Hokkien, however, any member of the foster parents' kā may use the verb chī or bùe in speaking of an adoption.

The significance of these differences in usage for our present discussion lies in the fact that they reflect a difference in the social structure of the two societies. In most English speaking countries the primary responsibility for decisions regarding marriage and adoption lies with the future mates in the case of marriage and with the foster parents in the case of adoption. In most Chinese speaking areas, on the other hand, decisions about marriage and adoption are family matters

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1 Maurice Freedman, Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore, op. cit., pp. 100-101.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

corner with a dozen or more table tops, stored there until needed in the guest hall for big feasts. Off the dining room, in the side wing of the house, is another sleeping room. This room is occupied most of the time by Lim A-pou's unmarried son, but he usually has to share the *tatami* sleeping platform with visiting children, male relatives, and whatever hired hands happen to be living in the house. Beyond this room is the busiest room in the house, the kitchen. Except on the coldest or stormiest days, the door between the kitchen and the small internal courtyard is kept open for light and ventilation. Most of the floor space is taken up by the huge brick cooking stove which boasts two, rather than the usual single, shallow cooking pans. One corner is filled with a heap of long paper strips, residue from Lim Chieng-cua's cement bag factory. The paper is twisted into hanks and fed into the stove by the women as they cook, by children when they can be caught, and, on cold days, by the men, if they have time to lounge before the evening meal. The walls are dark and dirty with accumulations of smoke and grease. Baskets, rice cake molds, tea kettles, and various other cooking utensils hang at random from pegs. Two closed cupboards hold dishes, rice bowls, cups, chopsticks, and bits of food that need protection from the animals that wander into the house. The kitchen has a convenience that is the envy of every woman in the village and that was a source of considerable misgiving to me. The well and the open cistern into which the water is pumped are located in the kitchen itself. My uneasiness arose from the fact that the next room contained, besides another small stove for the preparation of pig food, the Japanese style toilet. What we euphemistically refer to as "night-soil" is stored until needed for the fields, or until the pit is full, not ten feet from the water supply.

I was never sure just how the wing across the back of the house had been used formerly, but it may have been the original location of the cement bag factory. When we arrived, part of it was used for storage and part of it was taken up with the small bathing room. The storage room was cleared for us to use as a dining room and a sleeping room for our cook and our interpreter. Our long-suffering cook acquisitioned an alcove in the hallway to the bathing room for her coal oil stove. The rest of the back wing was occupied by another family of renters during the first part of our stay, but when they left we took over this space to house our expanding staff and to provide ourselves with a much needed testing room.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

and thus is unable to take care of him in his old age, the father is expected to ritually beat the coffin at the funeral, "to punish the child for being so unfilial as to leave his father alone in his old age." One can imagine what the reaction of a man such as Lim Han-ci must have been to this open and public revolt on the part of his son. His neighbors condemned the boy as unfilial, but for Lim Han-ci this held little solace. It only increased his humiliation. Rather than accepting the exoneration of his neighbors, he recognized his failure for what it was. With his remaining children he struggled, with some success, to soften the harshness of his character.

The very fact that Lim Hue-lieng dared to defy his father and set out on his own is evidence of a confident, stubborn personality. He had no money to buy land and establish himself as a farmer, and what few jobs were available in factories and shops usually went to the relatives of the proprietors. Lim Hue-lieng was able to assert his independence without economic disaster because of the unusual qualities of leadership he possessed and the position he was building for himself in the *lo mua*. The *lo mua* is a purely Chinese institution for which it is difficult to find a Western parallel. I am tempted to call it an organization of gangsters because of its methods, but since many of its goals are to uphold the traditional morals of the society, the parallel is specious. The *lo mua* contribute heavily to the repair of temples and to the expenses of religious festivals. They have been known to severely punish outsiders who, from ignorance or poor judgement, suggest lewd activities to respectable women of their area. They frequently protect the down-trodden for no charge, and just as frequently force their protection on the wealthy at near ruinous prices. A business man on bad terms with the *lo mua* may find his shop robbed weekly while his neighbor who is more careful in his relationships hardly need lock his doors at night.

The details of Lim Hue-lieng's career between the time he left his father's home and his reappearance there in his late twenties are known only by way of gossip and hearsay. Probably no one knows all the steps in his career, but by the time he was twenty-five, he had established his leadership over all the *lo mua* in a large section of the Taipei basin, and his influence was felt in the Taipei market place, reputedly the center of *lo mua* activity. I know that he had been jailed a few times, but was always promptly released; that he had been in hiding several times, whether from the police or from rivals I am not

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

in her father's inability to interfere. It is hard to imagine just what sort of future Gioq-ki envisioned for herself, but obviously it has fallen short of her expectations. Like many Taiwanese, Gioq-ki now attributes her misfortunes to fate, *mia*. When one of our assistants announced her intention of marrying a mainland soldier, a marriage of which we thought poorly, though on other grounds, Gioq-ki warned the girl against taking such a step. "You can see from the newspapers that all of the bad things are done by mainland soldiers." When reminded of her own marriage, Gioq-ki answered bitterly, "I was blind and that is why I chose him. My *mia* was like that and so I had nothing to say about it."

The early quarrels between Gioq-ki and her husband arose out of Gioq-ki's insolent refusal to obey anyone, her volatile temper, and her growing habit of spending long hours and not a small amount of money at the gambling tables. Although Gioq-ki was first exposed to gambling during the time her father was running a gambling house, the disease is endemic among certain Taiwanese women. Many of them learn of its hypnotic fascination when they work as wine house girls or prostitutes; others discover it during New Year's festivals when it is almost a standard part of the celebrations. All the women addicted to gambling have a restlessness, a dissatisfaction with their lot, and a pride that has been one way or another trampled on. Once "infected," women ignore their children's needs, use precious food money to buy into a game, and sell anything to continue playing, even their daughters. If their husbands are not also infected, the periodic quarrels between them echo through the village. For a few days after such a quarrel a woman may try to avoid whichever village house has a game in it, but soon she is slipping in the back door with a few dollars clutched in her hand. A gambler in a Taiwanese family can be, and often is, as disastrous as a chronic alcoholic in an American family. Gioq-ki's mother told me, "Gioq-ki often quarrels with me because I tell her not to gamble. She ought to listen to her mother, but she doesn't. Her husband knows she gambles all the time so he doesn't give her money the way he used to. This makes her mad so then she quarrels with him, too. She treats the rest of us badly, but she is a little afraid of her husband. When she quarrels with him it is not as bad as when it is with me."

I stopped by their house one morning and heard a neighbor teasing Gioq-ki about one of these quarrels. Chang Jong-kuei had

Languages

Sanlei is a multi-lingual community. No one language is sufficient to communicate with everyone although Taiwanese (min-nan hua) comes very close. All village children speak Taiwanese most of the time. In casual conversations, in village affairs, and in religious observances the utilization of Taiwanese is usual. Use of another language is restricted to "special occasions" such as dealing with government officials, but even here, if villager and official are both Taiwanese, employment of Taiwanese is likely. We started with Mandarin but as we learned a little Taiwanese, our efforts in Taiwanese were greatly applauded.

Mandarin is the official language in the schools. Since attendance is compulsory, almost all children are exposed to six years of language training. Several Mainlander teachers in the school refuse to speak Taiwanese at any time and a few know no more than a few polite phrases and do not care to learn any more. Many village women are unable to converse at all with their childrens' teachers. In the li school, only the first grade teacher permits use of any Taiwanese in class.

Several of the older men, especially the more influential ones, but no older women, have learned Mandarin in order to deal with the government and conduct business. Much of the acquired facility in Mandarin will be lost

787 Several villagers have some knowledge of ti-li standards which are considered sufficient for houses but a professional geomancer is usually consulted to orient the stove.

787 Normally, geomancy is referred to as feng shui (literally, 192 wind and water) with respect to orienting graves. Ti-li 761 is an alternative expression which refers to the activi- 354 ties of the same man (geomancer) when he is engaged in activities not related to death. There is some reluctance to connect the stove, for instance, with death. Nevertheless, both terms are sometimes used for the stove or house but only feng-shui is used for graves or temples.

342 As more space is needed in the house, ten-foot wings are extended at right angles from each end of the main section on the side of the building with the kung t'ing door. Each added room is about 10' by 10'. The wings may eventually become five or six rooms long. The long-range aim is a "u-shaped" building with a courtyard in the central partially enclosed area. Several village dwelling units have reached this stage (One is illustrated in Figure 12). Others may assume the shape of an "L" before the last wing is added (A distribution of various shapes can easily be seen in Figure 2). Since the large "u-shaped" building is predicated on the basis it will be occupied by a single kinship group, many buildings never complete the full development cycle as families do not expand as expected. The most modern houses of concrete,

settlement, older informants had heard tales of the founding directly from the original migrants.

5 G. Myrdal explains that under British control, the petty officials at lower levels were usually members of the indigenous population and higher levels were British. There were also attempts to work through the previous political infrastructure. He contrasts this with the French rule in Vietnam where almost all levels were controlled by the French and therefore, had the highest ratio of foreign officials to indigenous citizens in the East (1968:123-4,187-9). L. Mair (1969:32) also stresses indirect rule as a general British policy in most colonial territories. Taiwan appears intermediate between the French and British extremes for almost all government officials were Japanese, but the traditional local infrastructure of political control continued to be important.

6 The pao chia system is based on a Chinese imperial edict in the eighteenth century but it is far from clear how it was applied for conflicting data exists from various areas (Freedman,1958:65). It appears to be a system of units organized in hierarchal order to maintain control. In Taiwan under the Japanese, it functioned as follows: each chia (family or household) had a chia chang (head) who was responsible for the actions of its members. About ten contiguous chia were combined into lin headed by a lin chang (neighborhood leader) who was selected by a process of consensus and held responsible for the lin. About ten lin were combined into pao with an elected or appointed pao chang (head or mayor) responsible for communicating and carrying out government programs. Each pao consisted of about 100 chia. Since there were more than 150 chia in Talei Li, it was split into two pao.

7 The average rate for all Europe is about 10 and for North America, just over 9 (United Nations Demographic Yearbook,1966:103). The lower rate in Taiwan is primarily due to its relatively young population.

8 Early in the Twentieth century, flour was sacked in colorful cotton bags as a sales promotion device in the United States. The material was salvaged to make clothes which were very similar to underclothes now worn in Taiwan in terms of color and patterns.

Chapter III: The Economic Base

[192] 1 P'eng lai and tsai lai are both generic names for a large set of sub-varieties.

2 To facilitate comprehension, all dates in this chapter are furnished according to the Western solar calendar. [805] The lunar calendar is extremely important for village affairs and is considered in Chapter IX.